[GEIDAM]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.
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Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bəjis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in
[305] the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe
[282] and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers
[322] shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths,
[294] covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organization of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterized by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
• 294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishama (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

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264 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day, and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bèlèn (milk, rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of bèlèn, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon, chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins, bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present, without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines appear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
441 closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men, there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the different kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and